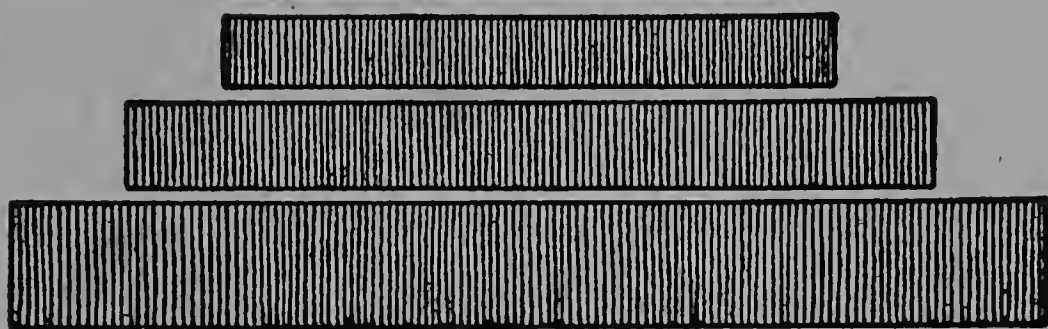


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**WHO ARE
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DIE**

THE TWELVE WHO ARE TO DIE

THE TRIAL OF THE
SOCIALISTS-REVOLUTIONISTS
IN MOSCOW

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Socialists-Revolutionists

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PREFACE

PREFACE.

THE MOSCOW TRIAL AND THE BOLSHEVIKI.

The Russian Party of Socialists-Revolutionists differs radically from the Social-Democratic Party; nay, more, both parties disagree in their basic conceptions of policy and principle. Nevertheless, I gladly accepted the invitation to write a preface to the book on the Moscow trial, published by the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists. More than that: I feel that I not only have a right but am duty-bound to write this preface, in the name of my social-democratic principles. For these principles indicate clearly that the proletariat, as the most exploited and enslaved of all classes, cannot emancipate itself without emancipating at the same time all those who are enslaved. A proletarian, Socialist party cannot fulfill its great, historic mission without making itself the protector of all the enslaved and oppressed.

For this reason, Marx and Engels took up the cudgels in behalf of oppressed Poland and raised their voices in defense of Ireland. For this reason, Socialists always fought for the liberation of native peoples suffering under the colonial domination of imperialist governments. And in doing so, Socialists frequently cooperated with non-socialist, bourgeois elements. We are, therefore, all the more obliged to come to the defense of the persecuted and oppressed when they belong to a party which, like ours, although not always in the same way, seeks the emancipation of the toilers, a party which, like ours, had for many years waged bitter, holy war against the meanest enemy of the world proletariat, — Russian absolutism. The fight waged today by the Socialists-Revolutionists is but a continuation of the old fight. For there is no

substantial difference between an absolutist government which holds its power by heritage or one which is of recent creation. There is no material difference between the rule of a „legal“ Czar and a clique that accidentally established itself in power. There is no difference between a tyrant who lives in a palace and a despot who misused the revolution of workers and peasants to ascend into the Kremlin.

And the fact that the new Russian despotism is bonapartist rather than czarist in character makes it all the more essential for the Socialist parties of the world to come to the defense of the Russian Socialists persecuted by this bonapartist regime. For what this regime seeks is to make the Socialists of the entire world its associates in its policy of persecution, — something which Czarism, for obvious reasons, never aimed at. The Bolshevik rulers want the Socialists of the whole world to applaud their persecution of the Socialists-Revolutionists and Mensheviki, but the time has passed when they could expect their assertions to pass unchallenged.

The Bolsheviks maintain that their policy constitutes the only genuine application of Marxism, that it constitutes a strict application of the principles of the class struggle. But the oppression and persecution of workingmen, belonging to another current of Socialist thought, and for no other reason than that these workers prefer to interpret Socialism in a manner different from the Bolsheviks, is in sharp contradiction with these class-struggle principles. We, Marxian Social-Democrats, in common with nearly all other Socialists, stand for democracy and for the right of unrestricted political propaganda for all political parties. This right of unrestricted propaganda we must, above all, demand for all the Socialist parties in Russia. It is quite inevitable for the respective Socialist parties to find themselves frequently in disagreement with one another. But this must be expressed only in a struggle of argument, in a struggle for the soul of the proletariat. Socialists who resort in this struggle against the opinions of other Socialists to guns, bayonets, Che-Ka organizations and jails are committing an act of violence against the proletariat and the idea of the class struggle.

Even the Bolsheviks themselves feel this. For this reason they seek to excuse their regime of violence in the eyes of the

Socialists of the entire world by asserting, like the wolf in the old fable, that the sheep are trying to pollute the water which they, the Bolsheviks, forsooth, seek to maintain unpolluted. To convince the world of the truth of this claim was the chief purpose of the Moscow trial. By this trial the Bolsheviks sought to destroy not only physically but morally the foremost representatives of the Socialists-Revolutionists. But the trial produced quite the opposite effect. It resulted in the moral victory of the accused and the moral execution of the accusers.

The Bolsheviks were first to use violence against other Socialists. They dissolved the Constituent Assembly not by way of resistance against any violence on the part of the Socialists-Revolutionists and Mensheviks but because of their realization of their own inability to obtain the support of the majority of the peasants and workers by means of free propaganda. This was the fundamental cause of the Bolshevik coup d'état against the representatives of the revolutionary workers and peasants. Hence, the abolition of all rights of all other Socialists who refused to submit to the crack of the Bolshevik whip. Hence, the establishment of a political regime which leaves but one form of open, political action for the opposition — civil war. The Social-Democracy was never averse to the use of violence in resistance against violent persecution. It simply made the advisability of the use of such violence conditional upon considerations of purpose and the possibility of success. If the Social-Democracy found itself in disagreement with the Socialists-Revolutionists in this regard, it was not from considerations of principle but of tactics. But, if I am correctly informed on this point, there are no substantial differences of opinion at the present moment between the Socialists-Revolutionists and the Mensheviks. Both recognize that an anti-Bolshevik uprising at the present moment could not be successful and would even, under certain circumstances, lead to a result diametrically opposed to that sought, by provoking foreign and reactionary intervention. Armed uprising against the Bolsheviks, at the present moment, would only delay the process now in progress in Russia and pregnant with great consequences, — the process of the desertion of Bolshevism by the proletariat and

peasant masses and their return to the other Socialist parties. This process represents a deadly danger for the Bolshevik dictatorship. The real crime of which the Socialists-Revolutionists are guilty before the Bolsheviks at the present moment is not in the preparation of terroristic acts and armed uprisings, but in that, like the Mensheviks and perhaps even to a larger extent, the Socialists-Revolutionists, whose ranks are constantly growing in number, are acquiring in ever increasing measure the confidence of the toiling masses of Russia. This bids fair to bring about the complete isolation of the Bolsheviks in a short time, so that the only ones who will stand behind them will be a few capitalists and the Red Army. Nor is the army, too, likely to continue its support of the Bolsheviks very long, for military dictatorships must have military successes abroad and cannot thrive merely upon suppression of uprisings of hunger-driven peasants. In vain do the Bolsheviks seek to stem the tide against them. The only thing they still command in full is the art of destroying their opponents by means of falsehood and violence. They have shown a complete lack of understanding of the pre-requisites under which alone Socialist production is possible, as well as entire lack of perspicacity in determining the conditions essential for the development of capitalist production. In their aspiration for the realization of Socialism they have destroyed Russia's entire machinery of production, while their present effort to patch it up with the assistance of capitalism carries the danger of aggravating this destruction. But even should they succeed in establishing a new capitalism in Russia and to resume production with its assistance, they would do so in the presence of a proletariat which they themselves have rendered unfit for struggle and resistance.

In both cases, misery and poverty will continue to reign in Russia for many years and will continue to fan apathy and despair, on one side, and uprisings, provoked by the despair of the masses — on the other. The Moscow trial was intended to distract the growing opposition of the masses against the Bolsheviks and direct popular wrath against the Socialists-Revolutionists. How vain the effort! The arrow, in falling, struck the ones who fired it.

The Bolsheviki hoped to represent the accused Socialists-Revolutionists and their entire party as allies and associates of the counter-revolution and foreign powers. To accomplish this aim, they did not hesitate to employ the most shameless and dishonest methods of the regime of the old police. They outdid the limitless shamelessness of that regime, whose prosecutors, as is well known, needed but a few lines penned by the accused to send him to the gallows. With all that, however, the Bolsheviki succeeded only in exposing the mean depths of their own soul.

When the counter-revolution suppressed Marx's „*Neue Rheinische Zeitung*“, in 1849, Freiligrath branded this act in words of fire as contemptible violence. He said: „This is not an open blow in an open fight. Against me are barbarism and meanness. This blow has been struck against me by the forces of sneaky, dirty, despicable Asiatic barbarism“.

The defendants in the Moscow trial were likewise struck not by an open blow in an open fight. The blow struck against them was delivered by the hired, contemptible, low hirelings of Tartar or Kalmyk socialism.

But how innocent was the despicableness assailed by Freiligrath in comparison with the despicableness revealed by the Bolsheviki in the Moscow trial! The shameless falsehood, contemptible cowardice and devilish cruelty of the prosecutors, judges and secret service men revealed in the Moscow trial are unprecedented in the history of the world and will mark one of its most shameful pages.

How heroic do the figures of the accused men and women appear and how disgusting and piteous are the pack of hounds who demanded their blood, who hurled insult and humiliation upon them in their eagerness to persecute them in order that they might revel in their suffering!

The moral loftiness of the accused and the moral degeneration of their accusers at the trial were so selfevident and convincing, that the whole thing formed a picture of remarkable clarity and produced an indelible impression upon everybody, with the exception of the pack of bloodthirsty hounds hired by the Moscow executioners to defend their miserable case in the European press and who were low and mean enough to do it.

The accused Socialists-Revolutionists saved the honor of Socialism, trampled by the Bolsheviki. The names of Gotz, Timofeyeff and their comrades will be enshrined in the hearts of the workers of the entire world, regardless of party affiliations.

Never did the Bolsheviki descend to their present low level. Time was when we knew many of them as honest fighters and idealists. But the coup d'état of 1917 placed them in a false position, which was bound to lead consistently to their inevitable and ever-growing perversion.

From the very beginning, they founded their power upon falsehood and violence directed against the proletariat, upon the principle that the end justifies the means. This principle always and inevitably leads to the degeneration of the party applying it, for it perverts the party and paralyzes those who do not oppose this perversion.

Parties who aspire to great aims cannot afford to use any other means than those these aims demand. A party who seeks the emancipation of the proletariat cannot, in its efforts to gain and hold power, use means which disorganize and demoralize the proletariat. But it was only by such means that the Bolsheviki could strengthen their hold upon Russia and, therefore, they preferred the destruction of the Russian and the weakening of the world proletariat to understanding with the other Socialist parties of Russia, which alone could secure the establishment of a revolutionary regime that would support itself upon the broad masses and give these masses that freedom without which it is impossible for them to promote their spiritual development and economic wellbeing.

By resorting for the sake of the strengthening and preservation of their power to measures leading to the weakening and dissolution of the proletariat, the Bolsheviki have shown that they are not concerned with the emancipation of the proletariat but are simply a clique concerning itself solely with the preservation of its own power.

This attribute of Bolshevism makes it akin to the heritage of the French Revolution: bonapartism. Like bonapartism, Bolshevism is founded upon falsehood and violence. But both the first and second Empires marked the opening of new eras of economic prosperity for France and could, there-

fore, support themselves not only upon the capitalists and peasantry but also upon the broad masses of the people. Bolshevism, on the other hand, has destroyed Russia and set all the people against it. Its falsehood and violence, therefore, exceed the falsehood and violence of French bonapartism. And for this reason, despite its falsehood, meanness and cruelty, Bolshevism will not be able to maintain itself as long as did the regime of Bonaparte in France.

The Moscow trial constituted a desperate effort on the part of the Bolsheviki to discredit their most dangerous opponents at the present moment in the eyes of the Russian and world proletariat. They sought to represent these opponents as associates of the counter-revolution and thus rehabilitate the prestige of Communism, which has lost the sympathies of the overwhelming majority of the proletariat.

But the Bolsheviki lost the trial. It is not the accused but the accusers and their hirelings who today stand condemned in Russia and throughout the world. This trial, which provoked the deepest, universal contempt, revealed even to those who hitherto still failed to see the truth, the utter decay and degeneration of the Bolshevik regime.

But the Moscow trial is merely one of the episodes incident to the world-wide, historic conflict conducted by Bolshevism. Out of this conflict it will emerge discredited and condemned. A regime like that of the Bolsheviki has already grown rotten-ripe for destruction. It is impossible to foresee yet when and how it will fall but one thing can be said now and with absolute certainty:

BOLSHEVISM WILL FALL IN SHAME AND DISGRACE, BEMOANED PERHAPS ONLY BY THE SPECULATORS OF THE CAPITALIST WORLD, BUT ACCOMPANIED BY THE CURSES OF THE ENTIRE WORLD PROLETARIAT STRUGGLING FOR EMANCIPATION. THAT IS THE LESSON AND THE HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MOSCOW TRIAL.

K. K a u t s k y.

The Trial of the Socialists- Revolutionists in Moscow



A. R. Gotz — A. P. Γου

Cette tribune nous l'avons utilisée pour conter à la classe ouvrière notre activité passée. . . .

Et si cette confession que nous faisons est appelée à devenir notre testament, nous accomplirons jusqu'au but notre devoir révolutionnaire.

Oui, hélas! nous n'avons pas signé de pacte avec la victoire, il nous reste, à présent, à signer un pacte avec la mort. . . .

J'ignore ce que le sort nous prépare: la vie ou la mort. Si c'est la mort, nous mourrons en révolutionnaires, en la regardant vaillamment en face; si c'est la vie, nous continuerons à lutter en socialistes de toutes forces au nom des intérêts de la classe ouvrière. . A. Gotz

Diese Bühne benutzen wir, um der Arbeiterklasse von unserer früheren Tätigkeit zu berichten. . . .

Und sollte dieses Bekenntnis unser Testament sein — wir werden unsere revolutionäre Pflicht bis zu Ende erfüllen.

Ja wir haben mit dem Siege keinen Pakt geschlossen und müssen dafür jetzt einen Pakt mit dem Tode schließen. . . .

Ich weiß nicht, was uns das Schicksal beschieden hat: den Tod oder das Leben. Ist es der Tod — werden wir als Revolutionäre sterben, dem Tode kühn ins Angesicht blickend; ist es aber das Leben — werden wir als Sozialisten auch weiter mit aller Anstrengung zugunsten der Arbeiterklasse kämpfen. . . . A. Gotz

We have taken advantage of this pulpit to relate the story of our former activity to the working classes. . . .

If this credo is fated to become our legacy, we shall nevertheless do our duty as revolutionaries to the bitter end. Alas! It is true that we had not taken Victory into partnership and therefore now we must pay the penalty of partnership with Death. . . .

I am not sure whether it is Life or Death that Fate holds in store for us. If it be Death, we shall die as revolutionaries looking it straight in the face; if it be Life, we shall work on as socialists straining every effort in the interests of the working class. A. Gotz

Эту трибуну мы использовали для того, чтобы рассказать рабочему классу о своей прошлой деятельности. . . .

И если этой нашей исповеди суждено будет стать нашим завещанием — мы выполним свой революционный долг до конца.

Да, — увы! — мы не заключили договора с победой и в расплату за это нам остается заключить теперь договор с смертью. . . .

Я не знаю, что суждено нам судьбой: жизнь или смерть. Если смерть, — мы умрем как революционеры, смело глядя ей прямо в глаза; если жизнь, — мы будем и дальше бороться со всем напряжением сил как социалисты во имя интересов рабочего класса. . . . A. Гоцъ

Použili jsme této tribuny, abychom pověděli dělnické třídě o své někdojší působnosti. . . .

A jestli že této naší zpevědi bude souzeno, aby se stala naší zavětí, splnili jsme svou revoluční povinnost až do konce.

Ano — Běda my jsme nouzavřeli dohody s Vítězstvím a odplatou za to jest nam nyní uzavřiti dohodu se smrtí. . . .

Nevím, co nam osudem bude souzene, zda život nebo smrt.

Jestliže smrt, — zemřeme jake revolucionáři, sme le hledece smrti přímo do očí; jestliže život — všemi silami jakožte socialisti i nadále budem zápasiti ve jměnu zajmu dělnické třídy. . . . A. Gotz

This trial, which has touched to the quick the conscience of the civilized world and has united in an outburst of protest all tendencies of socialist and democratic thought, all sections of the labor movement, — this unprecedented trial has been concluded with a monstrous verdict.

Twelve men who have sacrificed their youth, their life and all their strength to the cause of the emancipation of the workers and peasants of their country, to the cause of the Russian Revolution and International Socialism have been condemned to death by a court, pretending to be the bulwark of defense of the interests of the Revolution and Socialism.

The noose is thrown about their necks but those who hold the rope have not yet tightened it. They are still waiting.

What are they waiting for? Do they expect the condemned, weakened by the psychic tortures to which they and their near ones are subjected, to fall upon their knees before them? Do they expect that the party to which the condemned belong will for the sake of preserving their lives, abandon its struggle against the Soviet Government? No. It is not that that the Bolsheviki expect. They have simply chosen to postpone the execution to a moment suitable for them.

The fight is on for the lives of The Twelve Who Are To Die.

The purpose of this pamphlet is to contribute, if in small measure only, to the triumph of the truth in this fight.

The reader will find on these pages some information concerning the condemned as well as those who accused and tried them, the preparations for and development of the trial, the verdict and the echoes it provoked in Europe.

In trying to give as exact a picture as possible of the events bearing upon the Moscow trial, the author availed

himself of the reports of Bolshevist newspapers, Soviet radio grams, information supplied by the foreign members of the defense who participated in the early proceedings, the testimony of eyewitnesses and official documents. The author must admit that all these sources fail to give a complete picture of the case. Some sidelights, particularly unwelcome to the Soviet Government, remain untouched, but the facts and data which despite the efforts of the Bolsheviki to conceal them have come forth to the surface are sufficient to enable us to form an opinion in the Moscow trial.

The author of this pamphlet is a Social Democrat, a member of the party which differs in tactics from the party of Socialist Revolutionists. And it is not considerations of party politics but those conceptions of principle and right common to the Socialists of the entire world which determine his attitude in the matter.

I.

The Condemned.

Who are these twelve, sentenced to death by the Moscow tribunal for counter-revolutionary activity? Here are their names, dear to the whole of Revolutionary Russia.

1. Abraham Gotz; entered the Revolutionary Movement in 1900; beginning with the year 1904 one of the most active members of the fighting brigade of the Socialist Revolutionists, the organization so terrifying to the Czarist Government. Under his direct participation were organized attempts at assassination upon Minister of the Interior Durnovo, the suppressor of the Moscow rebellion in 1905, General Min and Colonel Riman, Minister of Justice Akimoff, the Mayor of Moscow Schuwaloff and the head of the Czarist Secret Service and Assistant Director of the Department of Police, Rachkovsky; his record is imprisonment in the fortress of St. Peter and Paul, in expectation of execution, trial by court martial, eight years of hard labor and exile to Siberia, where the Revolution of 1917 found him.

2. Eugene Timofeyeff; entered the revolutionary movement in 1900; sentenced by a Czarist court in 1905 to five years of hard labor and resentenced, shortly before the con-

clusion of his term, to 10 years; liberated from prison by the Revolution.

3. Gendelman, entered the revolutionary movement in 1898; in 1901 sent into the army as a private for participation in student disturbances; spent about 3 years in Czarist prisons.

4. Donskoy; entered the revolutionary movement in 1897; sent into the army as a private for participation in student disturbances; exiled thrice; spent 6 years in Czarist prisons.

5. Eugenia Ratner; joined the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists in 1903; arrested eight times under the Czarist regime; spent more than 6 years in Czarist prisons.

6. Gerstein; self-educated workman; in the revolutionary movement since 1898; previous record: four and half years' imprisonment and five years exile.

7. Nicolai Ivanoff; entered the revolutionary movement in 1906; member of the fighting brigade of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists; participated in the preparation for and the assassination of the Chief of the Prison Administration Maximoff, sentenced to death by the party for cruel treatment of political prisoners; also participated in the plot to blow up the Imperial Council in 1907; spent ten years at hard labor; was arrested by Kolchak but escaped death by flight.

8. Lichatch; entered revolutionary movement in 1903; spent two years in jail and six years in Siberian exile under the Czar.

9. Sergei Morozoff; member of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists since 1905; sentenced twice to hard labor; spent seven years at hard labor in various prisons.

10. Nicolai Artemieff; entered the revolutionary movement in 1903; in exile four times, spending part of it in the Turchansk district of the Polar region.

11. Helen Ivanova; entered the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists in 1905; member of the fighting brigade of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists; cooperated in the assassination of the Prison-Chief Goodim and the Police Chief of the Ochtinsk section Rodziersky, who was guilty of severe tortures of workmen in cells under his supervision; she also organized the assassination of the chief of the Petrograd pri-

son „Kresty“, and participated in the assassination of the Chief of the Prison Administration Maximovsky; condemned to death in 1908, the sentence being commuted to hard labor for life; regained her liberty with the revolution.

12. Vladimir Agapoff, the youngest of the condemned; entered the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists in 1909; exiled to Siberia under the Czar.

And thus the Twelve Who Are To Die have a total record of 240 years' service to the Revolution and the cause of the emancipation of Russia and a total record of 70 years' imprisonment. Five of them wore prison chains, two of them stood upon the gallows — Gotz and Ivanova —, two of them served two terms at hard labor. And it is these people whom the Bolshevist Government is attempting to represent as dangerous enemies of the revolution, as fierce foes of the toiling masses. And in preparing to murder them the absolutists of the Kremlin are seeking to convince the world that the salvation of the revolution demands the blood of these men and women.

The foregoing dispassionate figures do not however give the reader any idea of the spiritual makeup of the Twelve Who Are To Die. All of them entered the political struggle at that period of the Russian Revolution which knew neither commissars residing in Czarist halls, nor the lure of newspaper notoriety, nor brilliant careers made possible by flattery, servility, cruelty and disregard of means and method; they joined the revolutionary movement at a time when the calling of a revolutionist brought neither emolument, authority nor honor, when the lot of a revolutionist was suffering, danger, humiliation. And, true to themselves, they followed unflinchingly the road they had chosen.

The representatives of the Socialists internationale, who met them for the first time in a Bolshevist jail, immediately felt the flame that burns in the hearts of these Twelve and their comrades.

Here is what Emil Vandervelde wrote of the accused in the Moscow trial:

„Every day we visit the jail where the Socialists-Revolutionists are confined — an old structure of dark,

blood red hue. It is one the few places where people still dare to speak, — perhaps the only place I observed in Russia where human beings spoke freely, gaily, in unsubdued voice, disregarding whether or not the eye of Moscow is directed upon them. They are facing death. They are facing long imprisonment, but they laugh, they are gay, gay with the gayety of those who prepare to do battle for a dear cause.

„I have no space to describe for you all the accused. But out of the common background of their heroism stand out some of the brightest figures:

„Eugenia Ratner, — one of the two women in this great trial. Alas, the youth spent behind prison walls, first czarist and then under Lenine! But what a miracle to see her strength of character, unshaken by these experiences, combined with joyous grace, with love of life and unbounded faith in the ultimate triumph of the cause to which she has consecrated her life burning in her black eyes.

„Timofeyeff, former member of the Samara Government, overthrown by Kolchak. Before the war he was in Siberian exile. There he commanded such influence both among prisoners and administration that everybody called him „the prison chief“. It is he who is entrusted to deal with questions of foreign policy at the trial. We, his counsel, are called upon to defend him, to save him, but he thinks only of attack, of turning the trial instituted against him and his comrades into a trial of his enemies.

„If Timofeyeff is the minister of foreign affairs of this group, Gotz appears as leader of general policy. I met him in Petrograd in 1917. He was vice-president of the All-Russian Parliament of Labor, — the All-Russian Congress of Soviets. In our prison conferences Gotz always acts as spokesman for the accused. He comes of a well-to-do-family. His life need not have been a hard one. But with exception of a few months of liberty, in 1917, he spent most of his life in exile and in jail“.

(Brussels „Peuple“.)

The other members of the defense, too, spoke and wrote of the accused as heroes. „We have no such people in our country!“ said Kurt Rosenfeld in deep emotion.

We would like to add a few words to these opinions:

The author of these lines had the good fortune to work with some of the condemned in the revolutionary movement. He made the acquaintance of some of the others in Siberia, at the Alexandrovsk penitentiary. The prisoners there belonged to various parties: Mensheviki, Socialists-Revolutionists, Bolsheviki, and anarchists. But there was no one among us who did not cherish the deepest respect and warmest sympathy for Gotz and Timofeyeff. Both of them were the „representatives“ of the prisoners in their relations with the administration, both of them were regarded by the comrades as representatives of the noblest revolutionary traditions —fearlessness before the foe, stoicism in trial and danger, and devotion to the common cause. Nor can the Bolsheviki who were prison partners of Gotz and Timofeyeff have forgotten them. Why, then, did not these former comrades of the present condemned speak out in protest in the course of the trial? Why did they not cry out to their party followers, intoxicated with blood and power: „Halt!“

One would have thought that at least some of the Bolsheviki, would feel the prick of conscience. One would have thought that at least those of the Bolsheviki whose lives Gotz had saved at the risk of his own head from the hands of infuriated mobs in the July uprising of 1917, would have come forward to speak a word of protest. No! No Bolshevik dared not violate his party „discipline“.

Writing to a member of the Moscow Government Gorky said:

„If the trial of the Socialists-Revolutionists results in murder it will be preconceived, contemptible murder. I beg you to transmit this opinion to L. D. Trotzky and the others. I hope it will not surprise you, for throughout the revolution. I have pointed out repeatedly the crime and stupidity of rooting out the intelligenzia in our illiterate and uncultured country.

„Today I am convinced that the murder of the Socialists-Revolutionists would provoke a moral blockade of Russia by the whole of Socialist Europe“.

But the murder of political opponents has become too common an occurrence for the Bolshevik government and Gorkys condemnation as „preconceived murder“ of the latest Bolshevik crime is not sufficient to prevent it. For this kind of murder is not a matter of recent development stet the Bolsheviki: This is the fifth year since the blood of workmen and peasants began to flow in Russia. And nothing has been done to stop it. The Moscow absolutists were able to „put it over“, for there remained in Europe and in America a sufficient number of people ready to see in the Soviet Government the torchbearer of the triumphant revolution. Was there anything to prevent the Bolsheviki from carrying out another experiment?

The Moscow trial is the last link in the long chain of persecution of Socialists in Soviet Russia. A brief explanation of the character of these persecutions will enable the reader to understand what the Supreme Tribunal which tried the Socialists-Revolutionists represented.

II.

The persecution of Socialists in Russia.

The persecution of Socialists in Russia began almost from the very first day of the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks. At first scattered and chaotic, these persecutions eventually assumed the form of a regular, definite system, embodied in a whole series of specially created government bodies, and became one of the government's main objects and one of the chief functions of the Communist „cells“.

This follows from the very nature of Bolshevism. The basic idea of Bolshevism is the dictatorship of the minority over the majority, of the party over the working class and all the people. This idea determined and defined the life road of the Bolshevik Party. Having started out with the idea of the necessity of its dictatorship in the interest of revolutionary emancipation of the toiling masses, the Bol-

shevist Party arrived at the point inevitable for any dictatorship — to despotism, to merciless suppression of all self-reliance and independent activity of the people, to the denial of all principle for the sake of the naked preservation of its power. Thus a government which has come into power in the course of revolution and has preserved all superficial attributes of revolutionary substance has in reality revived all the despotic methods of Czarism and has destroyed all the conquests of the revolution.

There is no greater danger for the Bolshevik Government than the awakening of class consciousness and independent activity of the masses of workers and peasants, for once the masses realize their interests and their power they will inevitably seek to take power into their own hands and will hurl their absolutist rulers — no matter under what flag they may be sailing — off their necks. Right here is the source of all bolshevist hatred against the Socialist parties in Russia, who not only defend the principle of democracy and popular rule but are the representatives of activist self reliance of the toilers, of the workers and peasants.

The Mensheviki are anathema to the Moscow Government as the class party of the proletariat, and the Socialist-Revolutionists, as the party competing with the bolsheviki for support of the peasantry. Which is the most dangerous enemy? This has long been a matter of dispute among the Soviet ochraniks. Some of the chekisty believe that the Mensheviki are most dangerous because this party may eventually move the worker's battallions against the Bolshevik dictatorship. Others worker's battallions against the bolshevist dictatorship. Others consider that the greatest danger looms from the Socialists-Revolutionists because the peasant masses, once under their influence, may wipe out all the results of soviet experimentation. These two tendencies in this theoretical dispute have found a compromise in the persecution of Mensheviki, Socialists-Revolutionists and non-partisans. This takes the form of jailing, exile or execution of all those whose work threatens to stimulate the activity and self-consciousness of the masses or to promote the solidarity and independent organization of the workers and peasants. In other words, the motives and purposes which actuated Czarism in the persecution of Socia-

lists are the same which actuate the Soviet Government today. The representatives of authority have changed but the old despotic order remains, and that is why the prison cells continue as before to be filled with political prisoners and the personnel of these „politicals“ under the Bolsheviki, in its overwhelming majority, continues the same.

But arrests, imprisonment and exile are not the only measures employed by the Soviet Government in its struggle with heresy: the chief measure is execution, capital punishment.

The Bolsheviki assert that they resort to capital punishment as a necessary means of defense of the workers' and peasants' government against counter revolutionists, against „the enemies of labor“. This assertion is contradicted by the fact that since the establishment of the Bolshevik government in Russia there has been no cessation of mass executions of workers and peasants. It is sufficient to recall such events as the shooting up of the workers' demonstration in defense of the Constituent Assembly in Petrograd, January 5, 1918; the mass slaughter at Astrachan, when thousands of workers were shot, sabered or drowned in the Volga for demanding bread, — to be more exact, for demanding the reestablishment of free trade in grain; the bombardment of Elisavetpol in Azerbaidjan, when 20 000 mussulmen, in the overwhelming majority workers and peasants, were murdered; the repeated shooting of strikers in all large cities of Soviet Russia; the firing upon workmens' meetings for adoption of anti-bolshevist resolutions; the shooting of peasant hostages for the desertion of recruits or in reprisal for the activity of partisan detachments; the shooting of peasants or the destruction of whole villages for non-payment of grain taxes.

Who will undertake to measure the blood of workmen and peasants shed in those terrible days of 1918 when a wave of execution of hostages in reprisal for the assassination attempt on Lenine swept the whole of Russia?

And here is another illustration: In evacuating Sarapul at the height of the civil war in 1918, the Bolsheviki, finding it difficult to take their local prisoners along with them, decided to clear the jails by mass execution of all inmates. Among those killed was a leader of the Petrograd and Ural workers, member of the Central Committee of the Socialist-

Revolutionist Party, the worker Ivan Teterkin. Many other workers perished with him.

Take the following case: in 1921 the Bolsheviki loaded a barge with 600 prisoners taken from various Petrograd jails with orders to deliver them to Kronstadt. On reaching a deep point between Petrograd and Kronstadt the barge was sunk. All the prisoners, with the exception of one who succeeded in reaching the Finnish shore, lost their lives.

Here is another illustration:

Hand in hand with mass executions in Soviet Russia, there are also individual executions of Socialists. Thus in Astrachan, in 1918, there were executed 15 Socialists-Revolutionists, assembled for a provincial conference. Thus in the famous Saratoff „ravine“, in 1918—1919, fifteen hundred human beings, gathered by special blacklist or seized at random, lost their lives. Among them rest the bodies of a number of prominent members of this party. Thus in the Kuban, in 1920, were executed leaders of the struggle against Denikin, peasants whose influence upon the population was feared by the Soviet Government. Thus in the same year, following the occupation of Baku, the Bolsheviki murdered the leaders of the local labor movement, among them the Socialist-Revolutionist Zimin, who had exposed the slaughter of 26 Bolshevik commissars by Denikin (the Bolsheviki explained later that Zimin was killed by mistake).

The memorandum submitted April 2, 1922, by the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists to the Berlin conference of the three internationales points out that among those who perished was the old revolutionist and member of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists, Strumilo-Petrashkevitch, the party veteran Alexander Turba, the member of the Constituent Assembly and representative of the peasants of his district Gorelin, the wellknown local party workers Timofeyeff, Charionoff, Livsin, Kurbattoff and others.

There is hardly a province or a city in Russia that has not witnessed the execution of Socialists within the past few years. Among the victims are names known throughout Russia:

Onipko, member of the First Duma and hero of the Kronstadt revolt of 1905.

Almazoff, wellknown educational leader and writer. Cohan-Bernstein, an old Socialist-Revolutionist and party worker.

Boris Flekel, accused of being Kerensky's secretary, which, by the way, he never was.

Samuel Fineberg, one of the most prominent leaders of the Socialist-Revolutionist Party in Siberia.

Concerning the latter we may add the following details: a prison comrade of Gotz and Timofeyeff and their close friend, Fineberg no doubt would have been tried and sentenced to death together with them had not the Bolsheviki executed him long before without trial. They executed him as a „counter-revolutionist“ at Irkutsk, the very same Irkutsk which was captured by the Socialists-Revolutionists from Kolchak after two days' battle and where the Socialists-Revolutionists released from jail some 1000 prisoners, principally Bolsheviki, set there by Kolchak from all parts of Siberia. Fineberg's past record was death sentence, fifteen years of hard labor and many years of imprisonment in the most terrible of all Czarist prisons, — the Orloff „zentral“.

Is it still necessary to enumerate here other proletarians, Social-Democrats, murdered by the Bolsheviki, or to list the „crimes“ for which they were executed? Here they are:

Tuliakoff — workman, member of the Fourth Duma, leader of the Don region; executed on order of the Che-Ka in 1918.

Krakovsky, a workman of the Sestrorietzk plant; executed by the Tamboff Che-Ka as a „counter-revolutionist“.

Samushkin, executed at Vitebsk in October, 1918, for distributing leaflets among representatives of the local conference of factory employees, arrested in a body by the Bolsheviki.

Levin, chairman of the Ribinsk soviet of trade unions.
Rom, secretary of the same organization.

Sokoloff, chairman of the Ribinsk Workmen's Sick Benefit Fund and of the local Social-Democratic Committee, executed for leading a twenty, four hour strike called in support of the

demand of freedom of trade union organization, cessation of the terror and modification of the government's food policy.

Anarchists and Socialists-Revolutionists of the left wing, who in October, 1917, helped the Bolsheviki in their coup d'etat, have been executed by the bolsheviki with even lesser concern.

We have not attempted to enumerate all Socialists who have perished in Soviet Russia. These are but a few lines of the endless book, but they are sufficient to illumine the psychology of the Bolsheviki, who cannot understand the cause of the mighty protests raised by the Socialists of Western Europe against their attempt to hurl into the bottomless grave of their victims the corpses of twelve more Socialists.

The reader who may desire to familiarize himself more thoroughly with this phase of soviet reconstruction will find some additional details in the anthology „Tche-Ka“, in „Two Years of Travail“ by Dan, in the memorandum presented to the Berlin conference of the three internationales by the Socialist-Revolutionist Party, in the columns of the „Socialistichesky Viestnik“, „Revoluzionnaya Rossia“, and other Socialist publications abroad. The reader will also find therein some detailed information concerning the tortures to which prisoners are subjected by the Soviet Government to compell „sincere confession“. For this, too, is one of the means by which the Bolsheviki fight heresy. As under Czarism, this method is rarely applied to political prisoners more or less well-known. But simple workmen and ignorant peasants who fall into the hands of the Che-Ka are, together with pure criminals, subjected to merciless assaults and painful tortures. In such cases the weapons of the Che-Ka hangmen are nagaias, blackjacks, knives and the butt ends of rifles and revolvers. But the most favored weapon of the Komintern's servants is torture by threat of death. After putting a person through examination he is stripped naked and put up against the wall. He is then fired upon, with the bullet whistling past his ear, the impression suggested being that the shot missed its mark. The questioning is then resumed or the man is taken back to his cell with the explanation that this was merely the rehearsal. Sometimes he is informed that

his father, mother or wife would be shot. By this method the man is forced to confess or to squeel, following which either the man who confessed or the person he has betrayed is executed.

The mere physical annihilation of opponents, however, does not satisfy the Bolsheviki. They seek also what they term the „moral annihilation“ of those who stand in their way. This is achieved by slandering and calumniating accused and prisoners. Every wholesale arrest of Socialists, every transfer of them from one prison to another, every case of exile, every assault on prisoners, every execution, and especially every trial, is accompanied by a stream of slander and abuse in the columns of the press. And there is no chance of reply or defense, for all newspapers in Russia are in the hands of the ruling party. The mouth of the opposition is shut. How free indeed is life for the Radeks, Bucharins and Stekloffs! How free they are to lie, slander and villify their enemies, for the latter are disarmed, defenseless, bound hand and foot, silent as the grave that awaits them. Nowhere and at no time were liars, professional and natural, been so well armed as under the soviet regime.

All this is woven into a regular system. Such „moral annihilation“ of opponents is regarded as of too great importance to entrust it entirely to the press, for in this work the publicists of the Komintern have the assistance of Che-Ka investigators, prosecutors and judges.

It is only necessary to recall the government announcements of plot discoveries — long-winded announcements in which the names of Socialists are purposely intermingled with the names of reactionaries. Some of these announcements reach the European press, which has now learned, however, to understand these inventions as excuses for new repressions. Arrests, exile, executions are the purpose. The invention of plots is the means. These, however, are sometimes reversed, when the purpose of the bolshevist ochrana is to slander a hated party. In such instances a „case“ is framed up. To cover up the stupidity of the charge the accused are sentenced to death. To prevent possible exposure the condemned are murdered in the cells of the Che-Ka.

Only those cases are brought to public trial which have „a propaganda value“, i. e. those where the purpose is to slander the accused. And the judges understand well what the Soviet Government expect of them. It would therefore be entirely naive to expect impartiality, independence of judgement or respect for law on the part of Soviet judges. There is no difference whatever in the moral level or judicial conscience of a Soviet judge or prosecutor, and a Che-Ka executioner. The judge, prosecutor and executioner receive the same orders: to do the will of the powers that be and put the intended victim out of the way. The only difference is that the judge and prosecutor work by the light of day, while the executioner works in the darkness of the dungeon cell.

The bolshevist prosecutor's ever present assistant is the provocateur. This creature's work is surrounded with particular glory under the Bolshevist regime.

All the elements herein mentioned were at work in the Moscow trial: the two-fold purpose of physical and moral annihilation, the accompaniment of the trial by a press campaign, the presence of judges representing the Che-Ka and of prosecutors with the mental make-up of executioners, torture by keeping the victims in suspense, humiliation and mockery of the accused.

The people demanding bread are offered the spectacle of executions. This spectacle is surrounded by a superficial form of judicial procedure, in proof of the fact that the establishment of „law and order“ in the country in no way indicates that the Soviet Government has in any way rendered itself helpless against heresy. This is intended to reassure the ruling party, to raise the spirits of its members and to give „intellectual food“ for propaganda.

Thus under all despotisms does terrorism have its ebb and flow. Its forms change in accordance with the fear or sense of security that may animate the government at given moments.

The material in the case of the Socialists-Revolutionists was supplied to the Moscow government by the provocateurs Semionoff-Vassilieff and Konopliowa.

III.

Provocateurs in the service of the Soviet Government.

Semionoff and Konopliowa, whose names have recently appeared so frequently in the press, are not particularly striking characters. Their chief characteristics are complete amorality and a perverted taste for strong sensations.

Semionoff made his first appearance in political life in 1917. He was a private attached to an engineers regiment of the 12th army and, with the revolution, was chosen a member of the army committee by his regiment. He termed himself a Socialist-Revolutionist, and since with the outbreak of the revolution and the downfall of Czarism all revolutionary parties in Russia worked openly and above board, without scrutinizing carefully the vast stream of new members that poured into their ranks, there was no particular objection to Semionoff's admission into the party. He was admitted without close questioning as to his origin and as to how he came to embrace Socialism and the revolution. The other stages of his development are outlined in his so-called confession, — the pamphlet published by the Soviet Government in Berlin, in preparation for the trial of the Socialists-Revolutionists, and in the testimony of witnesses, given partly at the trial or published in the European Socialist press. At the time of the October coup d'état Semionoff worked with the military committee attached to the Central Committee of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists. At this early point, at the end of 1917, he already came into conflict with the party because of his demand for terroristic action against the Bolsheviks, in contradiction with the policy of the party. (1.)

After the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly Semionoff and Konopliowa organized a fighting brigade of their own, composed of several workmen and a few inexperienced youths.

In the name of his group Semionoff suggested to the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists the organization of a terroristic campaign against the heads of the Soviet Govern-

(1) See Semionoffs Berlin pamphlet.

ment. The Central Committee rejected the suggestion. (2) Despite this, however, a member of the Semionoff group, a certain workman Sergeyeff, assassinated Volodarsky on meeting him accidentally in the street. The Central Committee of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists publicly disavowed this act. Semionoff was severely censured, being informed that he deserved the severest punishment for breaking the party discipline, particularly under the difficult circumstances then existing. (3) Unfortunately the party could not rid itself of this dangerous adventurer. Semionoff soon came forward with a series of other irresponsible projects, all of which met with the same rejection and disapproval. He then launched upon several terroristic enterprises without the sanction of and in defiance of the party's responsible organs. In these he deceived his followers by telling them that he acted with the approval of the Central Committee. (1) Thus he carried out expropriations of a purely criminal character, organized and prepared assassinations, etc. (2)

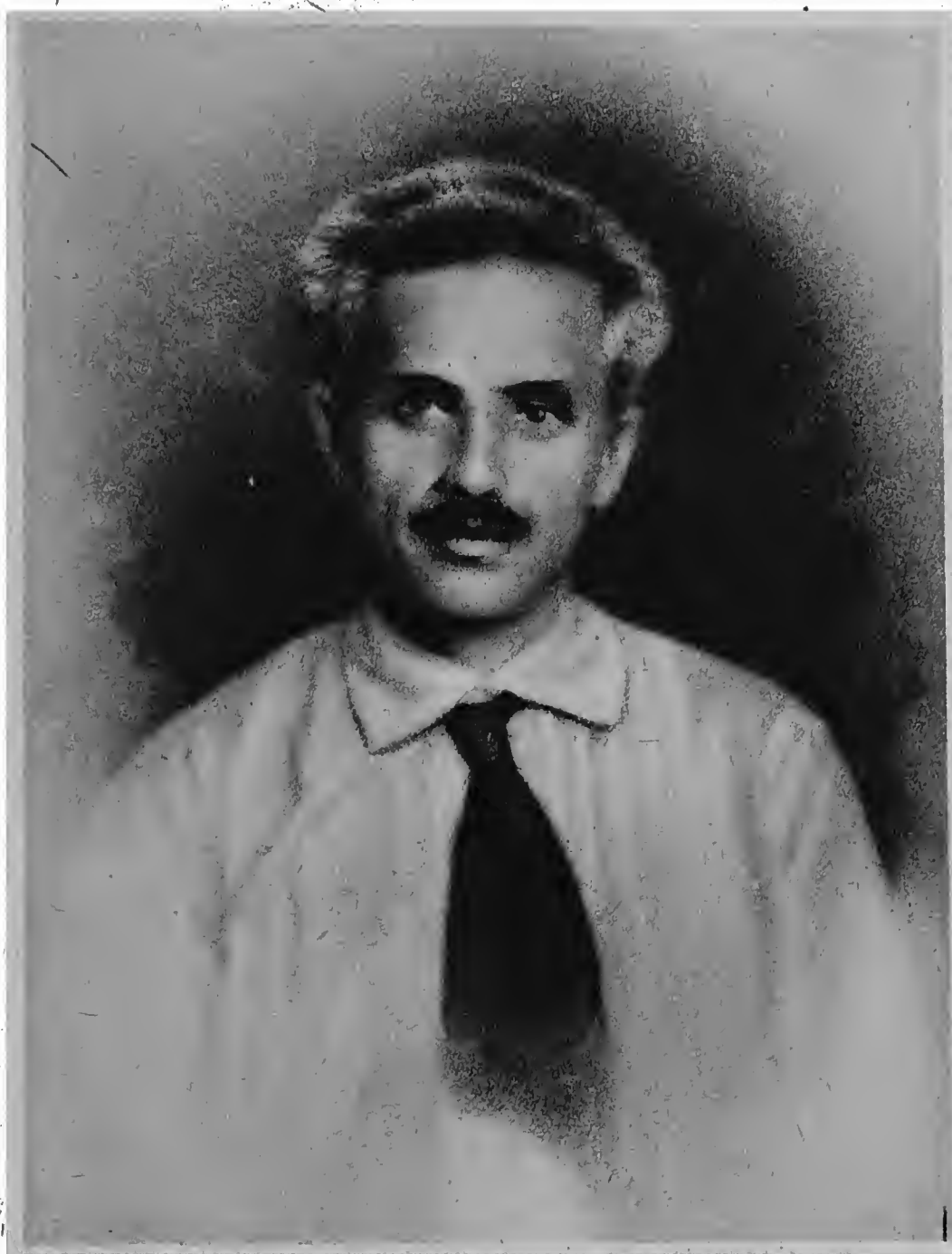
Semionoff was arrested in the summer of 1918, at the height of the civil war. While a prisoner on the Lubianka he attempted to escape after firing upon a guard. He was captured and was confronted by the prospect of certain execution. He then addressed a plea for pardon to Lenine, got into communication with Dzjersinsky, chief of the Bolshevik gendarmerie, and obtained his release. He left prison a fullfledged member of the Bolshevik Party entrusted with a special, confidential task: to work in the party of Socialists-Revolutionists as an informer. Great indeed must have been the service of this man to the bolshevist hangmen and expectionally low must he have revealed himself to obtain not only his own amnesty and freedom but also an honorable place in the ranks of the Russian Communist Party.

(2) This fact was clearly established at the trial.

(3) See the testimony of B. Rabinovitch, „Golos Rossii“, No. 918.

(1) This was corroborated by all witnesses at the trial. 2'articu-
larly interesting information on this point is found in the testimony
of M. Tislenko, published in „Golos Rossii“, No. 923.

(2) See Semionoff's Berlin pamphlet.



Е. М. Тимофеев — Е. М. Тимофеев

Nous avons servi l'avenir et ne voulons servir que lui. Vos lauriers actuels ne nous tentent pas et ne nous ferons pas abandonner notre vole. . . .

Timofeev

Wir dienten der Zukunft und wollten nur ihr dienen. Eure Gegenwartslorbeeren locken uns aber nicht und ihretwegen werden wir von unserem Wege nicht um Haaresbreite abweichen. . . .

Timofejew

We have worked for the Future, we intend to work for it and for nothing else; your present power has no attraction for us, therefore we would never go out of our way to attain it.

Timofeleff

Мы служили будущему и хотим служить только ему. Ваши лавры современности насъ не соблазняютъ и ради нихъ мы ни въ чемъ не отступимъ отъ своей стези. . . .

Тимофеевъ

Sloužili jsme budoucnosti a pouze ji chceme sloužiti. Vaše vavřiny přítomnosti nás nelekají a my pro ní v ničem nesejdeme se své cesty.

Timofejev

There is reason to assume that at that time Semionoff revealed to the Soviet ochrana all details of Volodarsky's assassination as well as all the material which was to form the basis of the trial three and a half years later. But at that time there was much talk of abandonment by the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists of its armed struggle against the Soviet Government, the „legalization“ of the Party and amnesty for its members. This was not a convenient moment for making use of this material.

Be that as it may, the Bolsheviki realized that they had in Semionoff a valuable acquisition, for in Soviet Russia there is a great demand for provocateurs. As early as in 1918, the Soviet Government adopted the policy of employing provocateurs in the ranks of the Socialists-Revolutionists and Mensheviki. Later in its career the Soviet Government organized a network of provocateurs extending beyond the fondest dreams of the Czarist police.

The ochranniks of the Third Internationale recruited their army of provocateurs by the method employed by the Czar's gendarmes — by threat of execution. An investigation in the Butyrki prison has revealed that between November, 1920, and February, 1921, no less than 150 men, or 40% of the prisoners, were approached by agents of the Che-Ka with the proposal to do provocateur work. 30% of these were threatened with execution as an alternative.

Thus, on becoming an agent of the Che-Ka, Semionoff found before him many competitors. The majority of these, however; were small fry, creatures low and miserable, but not beyond the measure characterizing their usual, professional requirements. Semionoff-Vassilieff and Konopliowa advanced rapidly in their new work and having won their spurs as common, vulgar traitors and informers were soon promoted to the position of pillars of the international, communist revolution.

The „Sozialistichesky Viestnik“ contributes the following additional information on Semionoffs career:

„During the Russo-Polish war Semionoff was arrested by the Poles with a group of other Russians accused of espionage. All of the prisoners were executed, with exception of Semionoff. Instead we find him working immediately after-

ward as agent for Boris Savinkoff, this condotiere of the reaction and himself an agent for Pilsudsky. After receiving from Savinkoff some cash and instructions Semionoff returned to Moscow and at once reported to the Che-Ka, where he declared that Savinkoff entrusted him with the task of assassinating Lenine. He revealed to the Che-Ka the names of Savinkoff's other agents and his plans for the destruction of strategic railways, arsenals, etc. It was then that the Bolsheviki first attempted to utilize this provocateur's „sincere confession“ as the basis of their frame-up against the Socialists-Revolutionists. The Che-Ka announced officially that a certain „witness“ (whose name it kept secret) had exposed the close cooperation of the Socialists-Revolutionists with Savinkoff's agents. Because of that, the Che-Ka announced, the members of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists would be held as hostages and would be executed immediately in event of assassination upon any member of the Soviet of Peoples Commissaries.

„But the blow aimed at the Socialists-Revolutionists failed. The idea of their plotting with Savinkoff, the friend of Wrangel and the mad Burtzeff, was so monstrous and improbable that even the Communists themselves did not believe it. Dzjersinsky himself, head of the Che-Ka, personally visited Gotz and the other leaders of the Socialists-Revolutionists in Butyrki prison and informed them that the Che-Ka's threat would under no circumstances be carried out.“

But what the Bolsheviki did not venture upon in 1920, they undertook without scruple two years later.

In February, 1922, Semionoff published his Berlin pamphlet, allegedly intended as an expose of the military and terroristic activity of the Socialists-Revolutionists. The pamphlet apparently constituted a repetition of the material supplied by Semionoff to Dzjersinsky at the end of 1918 and the beginning of 1919. In his pamphlet Semionoff discusses his own work as member of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists during 1918, „directed against the interests of the peasants and workers“, and reveals the crimes of the enemies of the Soviet Government.

The pamphlet is written in the classic style of the police informer. Pictures of expropriations, murders, attempts at

assassination, and especially names, names and names, follow upon each other with kaleidoscopic speed. Altogether no less than 93 persons are incriminated in the small pamphlet. If during his sojourn in Warsaw Semionoff has betrayed as many persons to Savinkoff, and as many more upon his return to Moscow from Poland, then, indeed, is he fit to occupy a leading place among the authors of the Moscow trial, and quite correct was Frossard when in his correspondence to the „Humanite“ he characterized him as a perfect type of communist, physically and morally.

The general substance of Semionoff's testimony is that the Central Committee of the Socialists - Revolutionists was aware of all his (Semionoff's) martial enterprises and approved them secretly while disavowing them publicly.

Vandervelde gave a juridical estimate of the value of this testimony in a few words:

„Semionoff's entire accusation rests upon the allegation that the assassination plots he carried out were undertaken with the approval of the Central Committee, each of which, however, were regularly disavowed by the Committee. Nevertheless he continued engineering his plots, and the party continued to disavow them, while he, despite this conduct of the Central Committee, persisted in manufacturing new assassination plots. Is this likely? It is quite clear that all this is pure invention on the part of Semionoff, concocted long after, in cooperation with those who inspired him.“

Vandervelde's conclusion is: „No normal court could possibly accept such testimony“. The leader of the Belgian proletariat does not seem to know, however, that such testimony is in accord with old gendarm traditions: district attorneys under Czarism would always aim, in revealing at a trial the name of a witness-informer, to utilize this name and testimony in as great a number of cases as possible. The author of this book, while serving a term in the Ekaterinoslav jail, made the acquaintance of an old semi-illiterate railway guard upon whose testimony and information the Czarist district attorney based his accusation against 102 anarchists (the old guard himself figured in the trial as the 103rd dedendant). The

impression aimed at was that the witness knew about all the expropriations and assaults carried out or contemplated throughout the province. He was supposed to have spoken personally with the leaders of these anarchists and thus there could be no doubt that the entire group was collectively responsible in every case. Thus, under Czarism, a provocateur's testimony underwent thorough preparatory dressing before it was offered at the trial. The Bolshevik ochranka could not abandon this good, old method, tried and true. It could not forego the preparatory, literary confession of its agent. It felt itself obliged to coach him to show him how to group and illumine his facts, what to add and what to eliminate — for do not two or three words or an accidental conversation with members of the Central Committee of the accused organization alter the entire perspective of a situation? It is natural therefore that Semionoff's Berlin pamphlet and his testimony in court should have been the collective product of the Che-Ka's creative genius.

Comrade Vandervelde will say this makes the testimony as a whole unworthy of trust and deprives it of any value in the eyes of a normal court! But what can we do? The Czarist gendarmes never hesitated to make use of such testimony and the new Red gendarmerie differs from the old only in greater ignorance and shamelessness.

IV.

On the eve of the Moscow trial.

With the appearance of the first report from Moscow of the proposed trial of 47 Socialists-Revolutionists before the Supreme Tribunal for alleged terroristic acts and with the very beginning of the bloodthirsty cries of the Communist press in Russia and abroad it became clear to everybody that what was being contemplated in Moscow was a peculiar species of judicial murder.

At the conference of the three internationales in Berlin (in April, 1922) the Socialists of Europe demanded that the Bolsheviki abandon their terror in Russia. The Bolsheviki naturally rejected this demand, but being badly in need of a

„united front“ with the Socialists of Western Europe at that moment (the eve of the Genoa conference) and as the Western Socialists, true to their bourgeois, traitorous character, refused to form a united front with hangmen and executioners, the representatives of the Third Internationale added their signatures to those of the representatives of the Second and Vienna Internationales to a general declaration which contained the following references to the proposed Moscow trial:

„The conference takes note of the declaration of the representatives of the Third Internationale to the effect that all counsel who may be chosen by the accused would be admitted to the trial of the 47 Socialists-Revolutionists; that, as has already been pointed out in the soviet press prior to the conference, there will be no death sentences imposed at this trial; and that, in view of the public hearing of this trial, representatives of all three Executive Committees (i. e. of the three Internationales — V. V.) may be present as observers, who will be permitted to take stenographic records for the information of the parties represented by these executive committees“.

This agreement made possible the participation of representatives of Western Socialist Parties at the trial. This agreement was unfavorably received in the Kremlin. In an editorial, in the „Pravda“, April 11, under the heading „We Have Paid Too Much“, Lenine said:

„In my opinion, our delegates acted improperly when they agreed to accept the following conditions: 1) that the Soviet Government will not render a single death verdict in the case of the 47 Socialists-Revolutionists; and 2) that representatives of the three Internationales would be permitted to be present at the Trial. These conditions represent nothing else than a political concession. . . . But what are the concessions made to us by the international bourgeoisie? The answer is: none. What, therefore, are the conclusions to be drawn from this. In my opinion, Radek, Bucharin and the other representatives of the Communist Internationale acted improperly in making concessions without assuring for themselves corresponding concessions by the other side. This need

not, however, lead us to the conclusion that the agreement should be nullified. Such a conclusion would be wrong. We must simply draw the lesson that in this case the bourgeois diplomats proved themselves more skillful than our own and that we must learn to manoeuvre and act more skillfully in the future“.

Thus, after upbraiding his unskillful envoys, the supreme ruler of Soviet Russia none the less accepted the declaration signed by them and agreed to by the Executive Committee of the Communist Internationale, as binding upon the Soviet Government. But in May of this year, i. e. not more than a month after the foregoing agreement had been concluded, the Rote Fahne launched a campaign intended to prove that the Berlin agreement was in no way binding upon the Bolsheviki, The Bolsheviki, the paper contended, would be idiots if they undertook to carry out the obligation they assumed with regard to the admittance of counsel. This, however, appeared for some time to be merely the opinion of this „independent“ Communist organ. The Moscow government did not venture immediately to declare the obligations it assumed a scrap of paper. It did not venture to do so even after it had already been compelled to abandon its hypocritical efforts for the establishment of a „united front“ of the Socialist parties of Europe. Thus, upon the dissolution of the Committee of Nine (the committee chosen to represent the three internationales following the Berlin conference) the Communist delegate Radek thought it necessary to declare officially that the failure of the „united front“ negotiations in no way nullified that part of the Berlin declaration bearing upon the pending trial of the Socialists-Revolutionists.

Considering themselves bound by the declaration the Bolsheviki agreed, after distinct hesitation, to admit foreign counsel. But the role they had assigned these foreign attorneys from the very beginning in the forthcoming trial is manifested in the following leader taken from the „Pravda“ of April 11.

„The Second Internationale has transmitted a communication demanding the admission of ten social-traitors, lackeys of the bourgeoisie, as counsel for the Socialist-Revolutionist incendiaries and murderers. Among these fellows is a former bourgeois minister of France and

three Russian Socialists-Revolutionists, who are themselves guilty of the treachery and crimes of their party colleagues (we use the word „party“ reservedly). The very list itself is a monument of brazeness. . . . Proletarian Russia has succeeded in crushing her foes but she is not yet secure against possible treacherous blows from the rear. And if the Second Internationale ventures to send here its „favorites“, permitting them to make use of its trademark, it must expect a corresponding welcome for them on our part. By the Berlin agreement we have agreed to admit freely-chosen counsel to the court trial. We will carry out this obligation the letter. But so far as the situation outside the limits of the court is concerned, these gentlemen must be so treated as to protect our country against their espionage and the incendiary tactics of these rascals, who on one hand engage in the murder of labor's leaders and, on the other, are too cowardly to admit it, continuing all the while to burn, to lie and to deceive those of their misled comrades whom they assign to the most dangerous posts“.

Is it possible to conceive anything more brazen than the style and tone of this editorial? Yet it shows the „Pravda“ to be conscious of the obligations of the Berlin agreement. This made it possible to continue negotiations with the Bolsheviki with regard to the organization of the defense. Finally, Vandervelde, Waters, Kurt Rosenfeld and Theodore Liebknecht (the first two being representatives of the Belgian Labor Party and the others of the Independent Socialist Party of Germany), supporting themselves on the Berlin agreement, left for Russia, knowing full well that what awaited them were insults, humiliations and even possible personal danger.

The representatives of the Socialist proletariat of Europe arrived in Moscow May 26. The trial began June 8, i. e. there were actually two trials with a double purpose: first the „moral annihilation“ of the Soviet Government's enemies and, second, the preparation of the ground for their murder. On one hand, the Bolsheviki unleashed a campaign of „popular wrath“, and, on the other, combined with this campaign of slander, proceeded the comedy of the trial.

V.

Staging of Popular Wrath.

The purpose of the Bolsheviki in this campaign was not simply to prepare public opinion for the execution, for if the more execution of twelve more Socialists had been the purpose the Bolsheviki could have accomplished that without the beating of tom-toms, — under the guise of „le fuga“. somewhere in the vicinity of Moscow, for example. The problem the Bolsheviki had set for themselves was to c o m p e l l the workers to demand the execution and by the campaign of villification against the accused and their counsel to raise the spirit within the Communist Party itself and encourage Bolshevik sentiment among the non-partisan workers.

On the very frontier of Soviet Russia the representatives of the Internationale rushing to the defense of the Socialists were met by a hostile demonstration. Such demonstrations marked the rest of their journey to Moscow. The Soviet press was enthusiastic in its reports of these demonstrations. Lack of space forbids reproduction of these reports. We will confine ourselves to the characterization given of this staging of „popular wrath“ by Martoff in his „Sozialistichesky Viestnik“:

„In Sebezsh, Velikija Luki, Volokolamsk and, finally, at the Windau railway station in Moscow crowds were assembled, driven together by the authorities, composed of Che-Ka agents and Communist appointees. These crowds, representing allegedly the „Russian proletariat“ attacked the train bearing the counsel for the defense with the demand that they explain their „counter-revolutionary“ action in offering to defend the accused Socialists-Revolutionists. At the frontier station of Sebezsh, the population of which, outside of some Jewish tradesmen, consists of contrabandists and Che-Ka spies, who work together on a „fifty-fifty“ basis, there suddenly appeared upon the scene the „vanguard of the world proletariat“, fully conversant in the sins of Vandervelde and eager to interrogate him as to why he signed the Versailles peace treaty. Naturally, this „vanguard“ was already fully aware, long before the opening of the trial, that the assassination of

Volodarsky and the attack on Lenine were organized by the Central Committee of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists and that the very willingness of the counsel for the defense to appear in their behalf was tantamount to participation in the crimes. No less enlightened was the „proletariat“ at Velikija Luki, with this addition: that the „proletariat“ of this world centre was entrusted with the task of bringing „moral pressure“ to bear upon the representatives of the 2nd and 2^{1/2} Internationales by smashing the train windows and, according to the correspondent of the London Daily Herald, by firing upon the train. The shot was probably fired by some Che-Ka agent transformed for the occasion into a representative of the Russian proletariat“.

The preparations made for welcoming the defense at the Windau station in Moscow were of a more elaborate character. Here is what happened, according to the „Pravda“ of May 27:

„As early as one o'clock organized groups of people, singing and with flags and banners, began assembling about the Windau station. One huge banner depicted the King of Belgium, with Vandervelde beside him. Beneath the portraits, in huge letters, was the following inscription: „Mr. Royal Minister Vandervelde, when will you be brought to trial before the revolutionary tribunal?“

„Another banner, addressed to Liebknecht, bore the legend: „Cain, Cain, where is thy brother Karl?“

„Other banners were decorated with the inscriptions: „Down with the defense of those whose hands are steeped in the blood of the workers!“ „Shame on Theodore Liebknecht, defender of his brother's murderers!“ The inscriptions were in various languages: Russian, French and German.“

To complete the picture, there was a choir of singers, who had thoroughly mastered the special song prepared by some official poet and bristling with insults against Vandervelde. Permit me to quote this song in full, as an eloquent illustration of the cultural and moral level of the Kremlin dictators who had staged this demonstration:

„Vandervelde is coming,
We will meet him merrily,
Of all the Menshevist lackeys
He is the biggest lackey.

He is coming to us,
The universal ignoramus.
The guests, of course, are welcome
But a pity 'tis, my friends
That we cannot hang them here.

Himself a first-class murderer,
The scoundrel realized at once
That his own end would come
When we convict the Essers.“

In the chaos of shouts, whistling and threats, Kurt Rosenfeld managed to catch sight of the leader of this scene, who himself was busily engaged, with fingers in his mouth, in adding to shrillness of the whistling. This man was Bucharin, member of the Socialist Academy of Science, one of the chieftains of the Third Internationale, a leading grandee of the Soviet State and Semionoff-Vassilieff's counsel at the trial.

The next day, May 28, the villification of the Socialists-Revolutionists and their counsel assumed a different form: a squad of clowns, dressed for the occasion, in gaily decorated automobiles bearing improvised circus tents, went up and down Moscow and in indecent verses laid before the public the „facts“ in the „treachery“ of the Socialists-Revolutionists, their alleged robberies and murders of the champions of the working class.

On a platform in the Tversky Square, not far from Pushkin's monument, one of these clowns conveyed to the public the „thoroughly established facts“ concerning the crimes of the Socialists-Revolutionists, Mensheviks, Kadets and black-hundreds (all these were, naturally, grouped together). To make this more convincing, the clown proceeded to kill the criminals by means of a huge club. First came the effigy of the traitor Martoff, who immediately fell dead beneath the fierce blow. Then came Tchernoff, who, disliking to be killed, entered into mortal combat with the public entertainer. But

„virtue“ triumphed and the club duly cracked the skull of the bandit Tchernoff. The same fate befell Vandervelde and his colleagues.

These entertainments were accompanied by city-wide meetings. Headed by Trotzky, Bolshevist orators made the rounds of plants and factories, delivering inflammatory speeches and urging adoption of resolutions demanding merciless treatment and execution for the Socialists-Revolutionists. From these orators the workers learned that the Socialists-Revolutionists provoked the civil war in Russia, that they were responsible for the famine, and that all would be well as soon as these enemies of the working people were put to death. This information, however, was of secondary importance. The important thing was that the Bolshevik authorities forced the adoption of resolutions demanding execution of the Socialists-Revolutionists, so that in many factories even some non-partisans voted obediently with other small bands of workers, inflamed and perverted by Communist demagoguery, for execution of the Socialists-Revolutionists.

Such obedience may perhaps appear incomprehensible to the workers of Western Europe, but you who live in free countries, you who have your party and trade union organizations, you who have freedom of speech, press and assembly and enjoy at least some human rights, — you must realize that the proletarian in Russia is a man without any rights and that he must be of particular courage and manhood to vote against a resolution proposed by the „great“ Trotzky himself as he appears at some plant and factory, surrounded by his Che-Ka suite and a special red army guard.

But the Bolsheviks were not satisfied with merely holding factory meetings and passing resolutions demanding execution of the Socialists. They also circulated petitions in all factories, demanding the blood of the accused, and which the workers were forced to sign.

In many instances the workers refused to sign these calls to murder.

„Oh, you don't want to sign?“ asked the Communists, „and do you want to lose your job or take a walk to the Che-Ka?“

The petitions gathered many signatures and the columns of the „Pravda“ and „Izvestia“ were filled with the blood-thirsty demands.

If you, workers of the West, could read all this raving nonsense, you would think that the Russian workers are an aggregation of cruel savages. But, no! These petitions are a calumny upon the Russian proletariat, a crying misuse of its name; a contemptible falsehood. For thus have all despotism, wielding the knout and the rifle, always spoken in the name of the enslaved people. It is not remarkable therefore that the Bolsheviki succeeded in putting through some hundreds of resolutions in the factories. What is far more important is the fact that despite all this, voices of protest against the violence perpetrated upon their conscience in this campaign were raised by the workers.

Thus, the workman Ivanoff, who was present at the scene at the Windau station, loudly raised his voice in protest and opposition. He was immediately arrested and taken to jail.

At the meeting at the Bogorodsko-Gluchosky plant, the workman Terentieff turned to his comrades and to the Bolsheviki and said:

„Comrades, whatever the Socialists-Revolutionists may be, they would hardly drive us, like sheep, to these meetings, under threat of having our families deprived of food from the government stores and cooperatives; they would hardly demand that we put the stamp of our approval upon the actions of a government composed entirely of members of a ruling party, as you, Communists, are doing. I am an old man and I need not fear you. I have no fear of threats and, therefore, I say quite frankly that in 1917, when the Socialists-Revolutionists were in power, we, the workers, regardless of party affiliation, felt ourselves, first of all, Russian citizens and not toiling cattle. We were not compelled then to dance to the tune you are now playing to please your rulers, who for four years have been riding on our backs“.

In many factories the workers managed to meet secretly, while the Bolshevik police was not looking, and adopted resolutions protesting against the murder of the Socialists-Revolutionists that was being prepared. But there was not a

single newspaper in all Russia in which they could make these protests public!

On June 6, the Moscow Soviet debated Radek's report on the pending trial. Some of the speakers declared that the Berlin agreement should be disregarded and urged the execution of the accused without further consideration.

This campaign reached its apotheosis two weeks later, when, on June 20, the anniversary of Volodarsky's assassination the Bolsheviki held street demonstrations of workers and red army men in Moscow and Petrograd, in support of the demand for the execution of the Socialists-Revolutionists. The Red Army men were brought out in parade formation. The workers and government employees were ordered to appear at the points of assembly for rollcall. It was announced officially that those who participated in the demonstrations would be given their day's wages (in some districts they were offered special meals in appreciation). The workers were given to understand that the demonstrations would be used as proof of their „loyalty“ and that severe repressions awaited the nonconformists.

Here are some facts illustrating how the manifestation of „popular wrath“ was engineered in Moscow and how the workers reacted toward it:

1. The Bogatyr plant. — Although the gates were locked, the majority of the workers managed to slip away from the meeting by jumping over the fence or sneaking away to the shops. Of the 2500 employees, not more than 300 or 400 were present. The bloodthirsty resolution obtained some 35 or put the question clearly and definitely: „those who failed to To this was added the threat of possible dismissal. Yet, 40 votes. The rest did not vote at all. The factory manager appear at the demonstration would be fined three day's pay“. despite this, not more than 300 or 400 employees of the plant participated in the demonstration.

2. Kalinkin plant. (Employing 200 workers). — Instead of adopting the proposed resolution, the workers were called upon to approve the Communist Party's declaration on the trial. The audience replied with severe silence. But one voice was raised: „the resolution should be put to a vote“. It never was. The representatives of the factory committee

and the factory administration simply announced: those who will not appear at the demonstration would be dismissed. This threat proved of little use, however, for but a small minority obeyed the order.

3. At the office of the Zentrosoyuz a bulletin was exhibited for some days before the demonstration, announcing that „all participants would be offered a meal“. The promise was duly kept.

4. At a meeting of members and employees of the Transport Division of the Petrograd Consuler's Society 120 of the total membership of 300 were present. The resolution demanding „merciless“ punishment for the accused received 9 votes, six of which belonged to the administration. This threw the authors into wild frenzy, accompanied by threat of dismissal. The resolution was put to a vote five times but the number of its supporters failed to increase. The resolution was then withdrawn and the question of participation in the demonstration, June 20, was put, instead. It received 13 votes.

5. Farmazavod No. 2. (120 workers). The resolution proposed by the chairman received 5 votes. Demands that speakers representing other parties be heard were made. The aforementioned 5 participated in the demonstration.

6. The Electric Works. — Here petitions demanding death for the Socialists-Revolutionists were put into circulation several days before the demonstration. The petitions were taken around the shops personally by members of the factory committee and administration, who offered it to each worker individually. But the signatures were few. A preliminary meeting was held on the day of the demonstration, at which not more than 100 of the 1500 employees were present. Not more than 30 employees participated in the demonstration.

7. Mussky Car Barn. — Here the workers greeted the Communist orators with cries of protest: „We are against the death penalty!“ The resolution was not even put to a vote. None of the employees went to the demonstration.

8. Pressnensky Car Barn. — The meeting dispersed as soon as it became known that the question of the Socialists-Revolutionists would be considered. The demonstration was boycotted.

9. Savelovsky Railway Shops (4000 Employees). — Here the workers had sometime before refused to participate in the „welcoming“ of Vandervelde. Very few appeared at the meeting against the Socialists-Revolutionists. The resolution demanding the death penalty received 19 votes. After the voting the resolution was taken around the various shops, with threats of repressions. Between 90 and 100 signatures were gathered. Between 60 and 70 employees participated in the demonstrations.

10. Moscow Municipal Shops. — Thanks to the leaflets distributed by the Communist Party on the eve of the demonstration among the employees of the locksmith shops, it was unanimously decided not to participate in the demonstration. On their appearance at the plant the next day they were each interrogated by the assistant manager as to the cause of their non-appearance. He then announced that they would be fined five days' pay (17½ millions). In the needle shops, the communist „cell“ hung up a banner without asking the consent of the employees as to the slogans. Several score marched under that banner. (There are 700 employees in the shops).

11. Clothing plant. — Of the 400 employees 40 agreed to participate in the demonstration. These included only Communists and candidates for admission into the Communist Party.

12. Maikapar Plant. — On appearing at the plant and observing a banner demanding death for the Socialists-Revolutionists, the workers demanded its removal. The Communist „cell“ refused, for which it was compelled to participate in the demonstration quite alone.

13. Twenty-Seventh Printing House of the Moscow Soviet of National Economy. — Not a single vote was cast for the resolution proposed by the communist „cell“. The next day, the „Pravda“ demanded in an editorial the dispersal of this „menshevik nest“. No sooner said than done. A new chief, the well-known Polonsky, was appointed, who despite the overabundance of work at the plant laid off 200 of the 300 employees until fall. He then called another meeting and put through the resolution demanding the „highest measure of punishment“ for the Socialists-Revolutionists.

The „Sozialistichesky Viestnik“ gave the following account of the demonstration in the great Presnensky district:

„Not more than 4000 residents of this great districts, driven together by force, participated in the demonstration. The workers marched together with the red army men, who carried no arms. There were many women and youths (between 12 and 13 years of age). The Briansk railwaymen were conspicuous by their absence. The banners bore legends taken from the „Pravda“. The spirit of the crowd was distinctly dull and humdrum. Everybody was in a hurry to see the thing over and go home. Characteristic was the exchange of repartee between a group of red army men and several women:

„And what are you, women, doing here?“

„And you?“

„We are government people, — we were driven here on orders“.

„Well, and so were we“.

To make the demonstration as imposing as possible, the government mobilized all the Communist „cells“ as well as all those workers who still retain some faith in the Bolsheviki, and who, thanks to the daily streams of villification, calumny and slander pouring out of the pages of the „Pravda“ and „Izvestia“, are animated by mad hatred toward the Socialists. These elements comprised an insignificant minority but they were the ones who supplied the spectacle of „popular wrath“.

Thus was this demonstration carried out, — a demonstration of workers deceived by Bolshevist demagoguery and terrorized by the Soviet Government, a demonstration supported by the perverted praetorian guards of the Soviet State and the dreggs of society, who but yesterday were the chief actors in Jewish massacres under leadership of the Czarist police and now ready to follow their Che-Ka leaders wherever they might lead.

At four o'clock, the members of the revolutionary tribunal, prosecutor-general Krylenko, president of the Moscow Soviet Kameneff and the representatives of the Third Internationale Radek, Clara Zetkin, Sadul and Schmeral, appeared before the mob filling the Red Square. The first to speak was Piatakoff, president of the revolutionary tribunal, who informed the mob that while he must not anticipate developments



E. Ivanova - Е. Иванова



E. M. Ratner - Е. М. Ратнер



D. D. Donskoi - Д. Д. Донской



M. I. Guendelmann - М. Я. Гендельман

Il ne me reste que le bonheur de mourir avec ceux que je considère comme mes amis les plus chers et les plus proches. E. Iwanowa

Mir bleibt nur das Glück, mit jenen zu sterben, die mir am nächsten stehen und die ich am meisten liebe. E. Iwanowa

The only happiness which I have now is to die with my nearest and dearest.

Мнѣ остается только счастье умереть съ тѣми, кого я считаю самыми близкими мнѣ и любимыми людьми. Е. Иванова

Zústalo mi pouze to štěstí, že zemřu s těmi, jež pokládám za lidi mně nejbližší a nejmelejší. E. Ivanova

Vous nous accusez de nous placer sur le terrain du socialisme scientifique, — nous acceptons cette accusation et nous sommes prêts à en assumer la responsabilité devant le prolétariat russe et international. E. Ratner

Eure Anklage, wir ständen auf dem Boden des wissenschaftlichen Sozialismus, erkennen wir als richtig an und sind bereit, die Verantwortung für dieses Verbrechen sowohl vor dem russischen als auch vor dem internationalen Proletariat zu tragen. E. Ratner

You are justified in accusing us of Scientific socialism, we admit this accusation of yours and are ready to bear the responsibility of it before the Russian and international workers. E. Ratner

Ваше обвинение, что мы стоим на почвѣ научнаго социализма — мы признаемъ правильнымъ и за это преступление готовы нести отвѣтственность и передъ русскимъ и передъ международнымъ пролетариатомъ. . . . E. Ратнеръ

Vaše nařknuti, že stojíme na půdě vědeckého socialismu-provažujeme za správné a jsme hotovi nésti za tento zločin zodpovědnost před ruským a mezinárodním proletariátem. E. Ratner

Pour la cause de notre parti, pour démasquer votre dictature aux yeux de la classe ouvrière, russe et internationale, pour la cause du socialisme et de la révolution, par ce procès, nous avons fait, nous, prisonniers, plus que nous aurions fait si nous étions libres, et morts nous ferons plus que nous n'aurions pu faire vivants.

A partir du moment où nous sommes tombés entre vos mains, nous étions sûrs d'être condamnés à mort. Il nous est indifférent que vous nous amnistiez ou non. Mais de ce banc vous n'entendrez pas de recours en grâce. Guendelman

Für das Werk unserer Partei, für die Entlarvung Eurer Diktatur vor dem russischen und internationalen Proletariat, für das Werk des Sozialismus und der Revolution haben wir, Gefangenen, mehr getan durch diesen Prozeß als wenn wir in Freiheit wären; und als Toten werden wir mehr tun als die Lebenden hätten tun können.

Seit dem Augenblick, wo wir in Eure Hände geraten sind, waren wir sicher, daß Ihr uns zum Tode verurteilen werdet. Uns ist es gleichgültig, ob Ihr uns begnadigen werdet oder nicht. Aber von dieser Bank werdet Ihr eine Bitte um Begnadigung nicht zu hören bekommen. Gendelmann

(Portsetzung auf dem nächsten Bildblatt — Suite au verso de la prochaine page illustrée)

he could say with assurance that the tribunal would meet out severe punishment to those who raised their hand against the Soviet Government.

He was followed by Radek, who heaped insults and abuse upon the foreign counsel of the accused. Bucharin spoke next. In his speech he extolled Semionoff and Konopliowa, who placed at the disposal of the Soviet Government the material for the case against the Socialists-Revolutionists.

The mob then passes in review before the members of the court. Some of the judges, on returning to the courtroom, order that the accused be brought to the open window, in full view of the raging mob below. Those of the accused who stood at the head of their party, approach fearlessly closest to the window, ready to be first to meet their death. A block of wood with the inscription „death to the Socialists-Revolutionists“ strikes Gotz. The judges laugh, the prosecutor-general grins with enthusiasm. A look of triumph illumines the countenances of counsel for the provocateurs.

This amusement continues for five hours. But the Bolsheviki are still unsatisfied. At ten o'clock in the evening, the president announces that a delegation representing the demonstration requests permission to appear before the tribunal. Prosecutor Krylenko „explains“ that while such a procedure is not provided for by the law it is not at all out of harmony with the spirit of the Soviet Government and is therefore permissible. And the „people“ being permitted to appear before the „court“ there followed the spectacle of a raging mob of wild, electrified fanatics, degenerate Che-Ka agents and street bums. Threats, curses and unprintable abuse fill the air.

And the judges listened attentively to the „orators“, shook their hands, thanked them for their loyalty to the Soviet Government and promised to do their best to satisfy the „people's will“.

The Socialists-Revolutionists stood this torture for two and a half hours, but the experiences of these hardened fighters are trivial in comparison to the tortures experienced by their wives, mothers and sisters, who had been permitted to attend the trial as spectators.

I cannot reproduce here the letters of these martyrs of Bolshevist justice, letters written in their heart's blood, letters

which it is impossible to read without tears and anger. They had already bidden goodbye in their minds to their dear ones, for they were convinced that their last hour had come and that this terrible day would end in the lynching of the accused.

This, too, was the feeling of the accused themselves, who preserved their calm self-control to the end, combined with kind, encouraging smiles for their own people and a gaze of courageous contempt for the executioners.

But neither the accused nor their relatives realized that the hired canaille representing the „aroused people“ before the court had received the order to work their tongues but to keep their hands still, to yell, to curse but not to murder those for whom the Bolsheviki were preparing another fate.

The campaign designed to provoke „popular wrath“ died down after the demonstration of June 20. Why? Was it because the Bolsheviki had been seized suddenly by a sense of shame? Were they frightened by the impression produced upon the public opinion of Europe? Did their inventive genius simply cease working? Or did they decide upon some new plan? I cannot tell.

Let us see how the work of the Supreme Revolutionary Tribunal proceeded in the meanwhile. Let us first examine the mode of procedure.

VI.

The comedy of the trial.

Originally the Bolsheviki had planned to try 47 defendants. After the Berlin conference, this number was reduced to 33. This included 22 who actually were members of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists. They constituted the „first group of defendants“ at the trial. Next to them sat the „second group“, composed of ten persons, headed by Semionoff and Konopliowa. These were turncoats, who had deserted, the Socialist-Revolutionist camp and most of whom had long ago entered the Communist Party and had secured beforehand the mercy and forgiveness of the ruling cast by betraying their comrades.

The defense was divided similarly: The „first group“ was defended by the Russian attorneys Muravioff, Tager and others, and by the representatives of Western European Socialism, Vandervelde, Rosenfeld and Liebknecht. The „second group“ was defended by about ten Communists, headed by Bucharin, and including Graziadey, Sadul, Schmeral and Felix Cohn.

The defenders of the „second group“ stated their position in the following official declaration bearing their signatures:

„Counsel for the defense, as a body, do not regard themselves in agreement. We have nothing in common with Messrs. Vandervelde and Rosenfeld. We do not regard it possible for us to defend the enemies of the proletarian revolution, who belong to the camp of the Russian Vandee. But among the accused there is a group who admit their participation in counter-revolutionary work and who have come to the conviction that the policy of the Central Committee of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists was a criminal one. These persons have honestly joined the camp of the proletarian revolution. On this ground we consider it our revolutionary duty to undertake their defense.“

The charges were pressed by prosecutors Krylenko, Lunacharsky, Pokrovsky, Clara Zetkin, Muna, Sadul and Bokani.

The tribunal consisted of three Bolsheviks. The „public“ or the „people“ were represented by 1200 Communists and Che-Ka agents. The families of the accused received only 22 cards of admission. The taking of stenographic reports and all translation work were entirely in the hands of the Communist „ochranka“.

In reality, the prosecution against the 22 Socialists-Revolutionists was conducted by four sides:

1. by the official prosecutors,
2. by the traitors (the so-called 2nd group)
3. by the counsel of these traitors,
4. by the court.

And all this took place in an atmosphere of incessant newspaper villification, in the midst of an inflamed, infuriated, carefully picked mob.

Counsel for the „first group“ were frequently forbidden to speak, their remarks were often garbled by the translators and their requests or suggestions invariably met with mocking rejection by the court.

The speeches of the accused, as evidenced even by the tendentious reports of the Soviet press, were repeatedly interrupted by the president, prosecutors and by Che-Ka agents in the audience.

The tribunal declined to hear witnesses called by the defense, refused to admit four Russian Socialists chosen as attorneys by the defendants, and rejected the admission of documents exposing the falsity and ridiculousness of the charges.

It is hardly necessary to say that the defendants of the „first group“ were denied the right of preliminary examination of the details of the charges, that the foreign counsel were deprived of the right to confer freely with their Russian colleagues and that the stenographic records were so garbled that neither the accused nor their counsel could recognize their own speeches.

The whole comedy of the trial was simply the prelude to the bloody epilogue contemplated by the Bolsheviki.

At the very first session, Piatakoff, the presiding officer, announced that the court does not intend to handle the case from a dispassionate, objective point of view but would be guided solely by the interests of the Soviet Government.

This was no trial, as trials are supposed to be conducted in Western Europe. It was a dance of cannibals about their prisoners, bound hand and foot.

When the defense attempted to support itself upon the Berlin agreement, the Bolsheviki replied that this agreement was in no way binding upon them and that their tribunal would do what it pleased.

This meant: we refuse to observe our obligations, we defy the opinion of the proletariat of Western Europe, and we will treat the accused as we have already treated thousands of Socialists, peasants and workers.

After seven days of fierce struggle for fair play, for observance of the Berlin agreement, the foreign members of the defense filed with the court the following declaration:

1. „The court has declined to admit four new attorneys for the defense and, contrary to the Berlin agreement, it has forbidden us to take stenographic records.

2. „The court has declared that, under certain circumstances, it would even question the desirability of permitting foreign counsel to continue their participation in the trial.

3. „Prosecutors Krylenko and Lunacharsky have declared that the Berlin agreement was in no way binding upon them.

4. „The representative of the delegation of the Third Internationale at the Berlin conference, Bucharin, has declared that the Berlin agreement is abrogated.

„We are guided entirely by the interests of the defense and, therefore, despite the foregoing facts, are still at the disposal of the defendants, should they desire it.“

The whole character of the trial had by this time become so obvious that the continued participation of the European attorneys had become quite useless. They could not obtain from the court even a semblance of fair procedure, their presence in no way guaranteed the honest publicity the case demanded, and thanks to the deliberate garbling of stenographic records and the degeneration of the trial into a street meeting, they were deprived of active participation in the discussions.

On the other hand, the continued presence of these European attorneys at the trial tended to create the illusion that the case was proceeding normally, in accordance with the conditions set in the Berlin declaration of the three internationales. The lawyers felt, therefore, that the strengthening of this illusion was more detrimental than beneficial to the task they had undertaken in appearing before the court. This prompted their decision to decline further participation in the case — a decision approved unanimously by the defendants.

On June 19, Vandervelde, Liebknecht, Rosenfeld and Waters left Moscow (but only after they had declared a 24 hour hunger strike to compell the Bol-

sheviki to grant them permission to leave Russia).

On their return to Western Europe, they issued a declaration addressed to the Socialist parties of all countries, in which they detailed the circumstances which compelled them to abandon the case. The declaration follows:

„The purpose of the Berlin agreement was to give the proletariat assurance that the Moscow trial of the Socialists-Revolutionists would be conducted on the basis of all legal guarantees of freedom of defense and from a purely objective viewpoint.

„Trusting the promises given to the three internationales at the Berlin conference, we went to Moscow to conduct the defense of the defendants, accused of serious crimes, and at the same time, by our presence at the trial, to give the proletariat the assurance that these promises were being kept, and thus to contribute, on our part, to the removal of the obstacles barring the road toward a united proletarian front. The manner in which the trial is conducted has failed to satisfy our expectations. From the very beginning, it became obvious that contrary to the promises made by the Third Internationale in Berlin, the accused were brought not before their judges but before their political foes, whose purpose it was to convict them for reasons and considerations of state. Particularly significant was the declaration of the president, immediately upon the opening of the trial, that this court was a class court and that it would consciously meet out class justice.

„The president of the Supreme Tribunal, Krylenko, appeared before the presiding officer, who is actually subordinate to him, in the role of prosecutor, contrary to Krylenko's own recent ruling forbidding, for obvious reasons, the appearance of a court president before his own court in the capacity of prosecutor. In his own place Krylenko appointed Piatakoff, his wife's brother-in-law and subordinate. Krylenko's wife herself conducted the preliminary inquiry and signed the indictment. Before the opening of the trial, Krylenko personally offe-

red resolutions at public meetings demanding conviction of the accused.

„On our arrival in Moscow we were met with a demonstration apparently previously organized. The demonstrators carried signs and banners, with inscriptions insulting to us. Threats and abuse were hurled upon us, combined with demands that we be thrown into jail. The government resorted to the utterly false assertion that the attitude exhibited toward us in the demonstration reflected the attitude of all the workers of Moscow and, with this as an excuse, the government put us up at a place two hours distant by train from the city, and surrounded us by several officials whose purpose it was to spy upon us. For this reason we felt ourselves prisoners in Moscow, which we were.

„Two witnesses were arrested on the eve of the trial, while a search was made in the home of one of the Russian counsel for the defense and part of the material he had prepared for the defense confiscated.

„The court, which had at its disposal 1200 cards of admission, failed to give the accused a sufficient number of these for their immediate relatives. Almost all these tickets were distributed, in the face of our protests, and with the assistance of Communist political and trade union organizations among members of their party and agents of the Che-Ka. As a result of this the courtroom was at times disturbed by such noisy demonstrations that, in the end, the president was obliged to interfere.

„On June 20, the anniversary of Volodarsky's death, the Moscow organization of the Communist Party organized a big demonstration in front of the court-building with the slogan demanding „rigorous punishment for the accused“. Within the building, adjoining the courtroom itself, there was an exhibition of pamphlets and pictures, the purpose of which was to reveal graphically the alleged „crimes“ of the Socialists-Revolutionists. While those of the accused who denied emphatically any participation in terroristic acts were kept in jail, the informers Semionoff and Konopliowa, who confessed that they had killed Volodarsky and carried out the assault

on Lenine, were left at liberty. During the intermissions they were to be seen conversing in the friendliest manner with the Communist leaders, the close party comrades of those whom they had killed or tried to murder. But at the trial itself there were incidents which provoked the determination of the accused, as well as our own, to abandon the defense. On this point we refer you to our declaration at the trial, in which we indicated in detail the reasons which made it impossible for us, in full agreement with the defendants, to participate any longer in the case. The Berlin agreement was not observed. This destroyed the basis of our defense. Our continued presence would have only created the false impression that the promises given in Berlin were being observed.

„In view of the violation of the Berlin agreement, there now arises before you the most important of its provisions, — that there shall be no death verdicts at the trial of the Socialists-Revolutionists. For many weeks the Communists have been conducting a campaign in the press and from the platform, demanding not only that death verdicts be rendered but also the execution of these verdicts. The court declared that it is in no way concerned with the Berlin agreement. The representatives of the Third Internationale declared that the agreement is abrogated and that all promises made by the Third Internationale are no longer in force. If we had not protested against these declarations, if we had permitted these to pass without the sharpest protest and had not appealed with all our strength to the conscience of the international Socialist movement, we would have faced the danger of finding ourselves before an accomplished fact.

„This must not come to pass! A death verdict must under no circumstances be permitted! The lives of the accused must be preserved!

„The gulf that is dividing the parties of the workers has already shown itself wide enough in weakening our fight against capitalism and reaction. This gulf must not be widened. If it is to be filled with the blood of the

accused Socialists-Revolutionists it will never be bridged at all.

„The interests of the entire working class, therefore, now demand that you halt the hands of those who are thirsting for the blood of the accused.

„The slogan of all working class parties of all lands and currents must be: „No death sentences for the accused Socialists-Revolutionists!“

Thus was the trial of the Socialists-Revolutionists taken from the seat of the Moscow court, prostituted and covered with shame, before the court of the international proletariat.

Three days after the departure of the European Socialists from Moscow, the Russian attorneys for the defense likewise declined to act any longer. Their action was prompted by the scenes that took place inside and outside of the court building on June 20. In the name of all counsel for the „first group“, Muravioff submitted to the court the following declaration concerning the events of that day:

„On June 20, in the face of our protest and regardless of the prosecutor's refusal to make a formal statement regarding the admission of the reading in the courtroom of resolutions adopted at the meeting of June 20, the president admitted groups of demonstrators into the court, who heaped insults both upon the defense and the accused and read the resolution demanding the highest measure of punishment for them, a resolution allegedly adopted at the meeting in the name of all labor organizations of Petrograd and Moscow.

„The appearance of the demonstrators in the courtroom and the presentation of their resolution to the court constituted a violation of normal proceedings, determined beforehand the court's verdict, rendering it illegal, and destroyed the character of the highest judicial organ of the republic by the violation of the technical mode of judicial procedure. For these reasons the defense is compelled to request that the trial be discontinued, in order that it may be resumed before a new court and another body of government prosecutors“.

To this the court replied: